37

(1)

THE LAST SPEECHES, BEHAVIOUR, and PRAYERS OF

Capt. *Thomas Walcot*, *John Rouse* Gent. and *William Hone Joyner*,

A little before their Execution at *Tyburn*, on *Friday*, the 20th of *July*, 1683. Being Condemned for High-Treason in Conspiring, &c.

Impartially taken, and Published by Authority.

CAptain *Thomas Walcot* being drawn to *Tyburn* in one Hurdle, *John Rouse* and *William Hone* in another and there put into a Cart, the Reverend Dr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Dean of *Rippon*, and one of His Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary, with Mr. *Smith* the Ordinary of *Newgate*, began to acquaint Captain *Walcot*, That this was the last time he had to spend in the world, and therefore desired him to make a good use of it, telling him, *That as death leaves him, so Judgement will find him*; and earnestly exhorted him to make an ingenious Discovery and Confession of what he knew touching the Conspiracy and Treasons of which he had been found guilty, and received Sentence to die.

To this Captain *Walcot* replyed, That he had some Papers in his Pocket, of what he had prepared to say in Writing, because his memory was bad; therefore he desired they might be pulled out, and he would read them.

Then Dr. *Cartwright* and the Ordinary spake to *Hone* and *Rouse* to the effect before-mentioned, earnestly desiring them to confess the whole of what they knew; instancing some places of Scripture to them, as *Joshua*'s advice to *Achan*, &c. *My Son, confess, and give glory to God whom ye have dishonoured*, &c. telling them, they would have imbrued their hands in the Blood of a merciful and good Prince who had often pardoned, and gave many Acts of Oblivion and Indemnity to His Subjects; and whose Reign hath preserved the purity of the Protestant Religion amongst us: That we cannot enjoy more than we do enjoy; with other good admonitions for them to make clear discoveries of the truth of what they knew.

Captain *Walcot* in the mean while was prepared to read his Speech.

Dr. *Cartwright* askt him if he could discover any more than he had done already.

Walcot. I've not in the general. I told the King the thing was laid very deep: There was a Gentleman with me last night, I told him what I told the King, and that was all: I told him I thought an Act of Indulgence would be very necessary, because he had a great many men to take Judgment of. I know not the particulars of the Design; but the King hath the Lord *Howard*, Mr. *West*, and others that kow more than I. I was never in Councel with them, nor never with them above four, five, or half a dozen times.

Then looking upon his Paper, he began his Speech as follows.

THis great Concourse of people do not only come here to see me dye, but also to hear what I shall say; and because I would not be reproached, and thought to be an Atheist when I am gone, I have two or three words to speak for my Religion. I do believe in Three Persons, and one God, and I expect and hope to be saved by the Merits and Righteousness of his Son Jesus Christ, without the hope of an advantage by any Merits or Righteousness of my own. And I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God; that *they were not written according to the will of Man, but holy men of God writ them as they were inspired by the Holy Ghost.*

I believe that these Scriptures ought to be the Rule of our Faith, and the method of our Worshipping of God: I believe that as Christ is the Head of his Church, so he is their Law-giver; That it is not in the power of any Council or Conclave of Cardinals, or power upon earth whatsoever, to set up the Precepts and Traditions of men, and to make them of equal validity with the Word of God. I believe it was not because the Jews rejected and Crucified Christ, that he rejected them, but because they rejected his Word; which appears by the Three Thousand that God by one Sermon of *Peters* Converted; they being *prickt in their hearts, and touched in their Consciences*, cryed out, *Men and Brethren what shall we do?* and they were *that day added to the Church.* It was certainly because the Jews rejected the Word and Gospel of Christ, that *the things were hid from their eyes, which belonged to their peace.* It is a dreadful thing to reject the Word of God; and it is a dreadful thing to live in a sinful course of life, till God withdraws his *Spirit* from us: For it is said, *it shall not alwayes strive with man. Death is the wages of sin.* I believe had not *Adam* sinned, he and we his posterity had not dyed. Death is said to be the *King of Terrours*, but it is only so to those that are terrified with a terrifying Conscience, that have the Arrows of the Almighty sticking in them, from Convictions of great guilt, and see no hopes of mercy, have no assurance of pardon; but those that are Christs, he takes away the terror and horror, and sting of death; he enables them to say with *Paul*, *To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain*: he enables not only to get *unto* Christ, but *into* Christ; and so they have *Communion and Fellowship with the Father and the Son.* It is no hard matter to get the notions of the promises of the Gospel into our heads; but unless the Lord is pleased to apply them to our hearts, we cannot believe: except we be *in Christ as branches in the Vine*, we are not Christians indeed. It was the case of poor *Francis Spira*; he was certainly a knowing man, but notwithstanding he had not faith to apply the promises. Christ hath said, that *he that believes in him, though he were dead, yet he shall live; and he that lives and believes in him, shall never dye.* So if we be able to apply the promises by the Spirit of

God, we may have comfort through Faith: but then *Faith is the gift of God*, and *Faith comes by hearing* the Word of God, and receiving it in the love of God.

I shall not be tedious, Mr. Sheriff, I shall be very short.

Mr. *Sheriff*. Take your own time.

Walcot. As to the present occasion of my death, I do neither blame the Judges, nor the Jury, nor the King's Councel: I only blame some men that in reality and in truth were deeper concerned, and more engaged than I, that came in as Witnesses against me; who Swore me out of my life to save their own, and who for fear they should not do it effectually, contrived that, That I will appeal to you all, whether there be a probability in it or not: for they said that I made a scruple of Conscience to have a hand in killing the King, or to embrue my hands in his blood, but was so generous as to undertake the Charging his Guards, whilst others did it, and to the end another might do it. Truly I will appeal to all that know me, whether they believe me so much an Idiot, that I should not understand it was the same thing to engage the Kings Guards, whilst another Killed him, as to Kill him with my own hands. But however, by their Swearing against me, they have secured their own Lives and Estates, and make my Blood the price of theirs. I confess I was so unfortunate and unhappy, as to be invited by Colonel *Rumsey*, (one of the Witnesses against me) to some meetings, where some things were discoursed of, in order to the asserting our Liberties and Properties, which we looked upon to be violated and invaded. But it was he, and Mr. *West*, and some Gentlemen that are fled, who were the great promoters of those Meetings. I was near a quarter of a year ill of the Gout, and during that time Mr. *West* often visited me, and still his discourse would be, concerning *Loping the Two Sparks*; That was the word he used, meaning the King and the Duke; and proposed it might be done at a Play: This was his frequent discourse: for he said, Then they would die in their Calling: It was his very Expression. He bought Arms to do it with, without any direction of mine; I never saw the Arms, nor I never saw the men that were to do it: though they said they had fifty imployed to that end. I told several of them, That the Killing the King would carry such a blemish and stain with it, as would descend to posterity; that I had Eight Children, that I was loath should be blemished with it: and withal, I was confident the Duke of *Monmouth* would revenge his Fathers Blood, if it were but to vindicate himself from having hand in it. Mr. *West* presently told me, that the Duke of *Monmouth* did not refuse to give an Engagement, that he would not punish those that should kill the King.

And now I desire to forgive all the World from the very bottom of my heart; and I pray God of his mercy from my heart to forgive them, even Mr. *Shepherd*, who delivered me up, who promised to carry me into *Holland*, but instead of that, he brought me into the condition wherein I now am. I do desire with all my heart to forgive the Witnesses, and withall do earnestly beg that they may be observed, that some remarks may be set upon them, whether *their End be Peace*, and that *they die the common Death of all men*. Certainly, though it be the Law of the Land I ought to die, and the King may justly and reasonably put me to death for being in those Meetings where a War was debated; yet I think these men are guilty of my Blood, that were as deep in as I, and have betrayed me, and taken it away. Then in the next place I beg leave, Mr. *Sheriff*, to speak one short word of Advice to my Friends, that hath been often given to me, though I was not so fortunate and so happy as to take it, and that is, That they would neither hear any man speak, nor speak themselves, that which they would not have repeated: for there is no such thing as Faith in man to man, whatever there is in man to God: either the Tears of a Wife, or a Family of little helpless Children, something or other will tempt and provoke men to betray one another. When God hath a work to do, he will not want Instruments, for he can make them, nor will he want a way to do it, for he can contrive it and bring it to pass. And I do most heartily desire, and my earnest Prayer to the Almighty is, That this may be the last Blood spilt upon this account. I know acts of Indulgence and Mercy in the King would make him much easier in his Government, and would make his People sit much easier under it; and that the Lord may encline his heart to Mercy, ought to be the Prayer of every good man. What happened, and what hath been the present occasion of our Calamity, I suppose every man knows; what Provocations have been on the one hand, Fears and Necessities, Jelousies and Sufferings of the other, I will not intermeddle with, resolving to use my utmost endeavour to make that Peace and reconciliation with my God, which is impossible for me to make with man; and to make it my hearty Prayer to the Great God before whom I am in little time to appear, That he would stench this Issue of Blood, and find out some other way to preserve these Kingdoms in Unity and Peace; to the Honour and Glory of his Great Name, and the eternal Comfort of his People.

One word, Mr. *Sheriff*, I desire leave to speak as to *Ireland*, because the King prest it hard upon me, and several People have been with me about *Ireland*, how far *Ireland* was concerned in this matter, I do aver here, as in the presence of God, before whom I am now going to appear, That I do not know an English man nor Protestant in *Ireland* engaged in it. What I did know, was onely of one Scotish Gentleman in the North; and the King knows it, but he says he does not believe it. For they that were concerned, I was never in any of their Councils: I never saw any of those Lords, but the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that was I believe above six months ago. I never saw nor spoke with one Lord, onely my Lord *Howard*; I heard my Lord *Howard* say, That they did not value *Ireland*, for it must follow *England*.

I have no more to say, Mr. *Sheriff*: but truly you will do an act of a great deal of Charity, if you will prevail with the King for an Act of Indulgence and Liberty to his People; I think so: and so the Lord have mercy upon me.

Dr. *Cartwright*. You blame them for that which is their Vertue, and not their Crime; That they have been Witnesses for the King.

Walcot. I was not for contriving the Death of the King, if you'll believe me.

Dr. *Cartwright*. You blame them for betraying of you in Contriving the War, upon which the death of the King must have followed, if your Treason had gone forward, for else you could not have defended your self from that Justice to which he hath brought you: and therefore for you to lay that as a Crime upon your Witnesses, is indeed very strange.

Walcot. Sir, I think it was but reasonable that I should suffer that is due from Justice, and reasonable by the Law; but these men, they did not come in against me till they did it to save themselves.

Dr. *Cartwright*. Better late than never: a man hath better save his Soul and Body too, than die as now you do, for Crimes that ought to make every good mans heart relent; and therefore for your blaming them, it was for that which was their duty to do; they have not committed a Crime in that, but a very meritorious act.

Walcot. They have revealed it with that aggravating circumstance, which I think no rational man will be guilty of.

Dr. *Cartwright*. That circumstance which you call aggravating, is no aggravation at all: That is rather a mitigation of your Crime, to make them believe that You were tenderer of the Kings person than to shoot him when he was not armed. But you confess you were consulting this Crime.

Walcot. I was not to have a hand in the Kings Death.

Dr. *Cartwright*.

Dr. *Cartwright.* But it was propoſed when you were there. *Walcot.* It was ſo.

Dr. *Cartwright.* And it was agreed to be done.

Walcot. Truly I do not know how far it was agreed; I was there many Meetings.

Dr. *Cartwright.* Theſe very Meetings you could not but be ſenſible of.

Walcot. There were ſeveral Meetings wherein the buſineſs of the Kings life was never ſpoke of.

Dr. *Cartwright.* That was agreed in thoſe Meetings; but you had a tenderer Conſcience.

Walcot. I ſay, they were for aſſerting our Liberties and Properties.

Dr. *Cartwright.* I would fain have you explain that.

Walcot. Truly, Sir, ſince you do preſs me to ſpeak, we were under general apprehenſions, and ſo were thoſe Lords that are likely to ſuffer, as I have heard; they were under general apprehenſions of Popery and Slaveries coming in.

Dr. *Cartwright.* What ſign was there of it? you had no Perſecution at all, you were allowed by the Law to meet five in a houſe, beſides thoſe of the Family. It is true, the Conventicles have beeo diſturbed of late; and I would have you look upon it as a Judgment of God, to bring you to this, for forſaking the Church of *England*: You have forſaken Communion with that Church in that way you were inſtructed from your Youth.

Walcot. I do not come here to diſpute of Religion, but I come here to die religiouſly, if it pleaſe God to enable me.

Dr. *Cartwright.* I pray God enable you: but I would not have you charge that as a Crime upon the Witneſſes, which was their Duty.

Walcot. I can't tell how to excuſe my Witneſſes for aggravating things againſt me, and making them worſe than really they were.

Dr. *Cartwright* going to reply; *Walcot.* Pray, Sir, give me leave; for a man to invite a man to a Meeting, to importune him to this Meeting, to be perpetually ſoliciting him, and then to deliver him up to be hanged, as they have done me------

Dr. *Cartwright.* It was a Crime to ſolicite you to thoſe Meetings; but when you were in, it was a Duty in you and in them to reveal it: if God had given you the grace to reveal them, the turn had been theirs which now is yours. And whereas you ſay you cannot excuſe them, that is uncharitable.

Walcot. I do forgive them, and I deſire with all my heart God would forgive them.

Dr. *Cartwright.* You confeſs you were guilty enough to take away your life.

Walcot. I was ſo. The ſame meaſure we mete to another, that meaſure God will mete to us: Then, Sir, I do leave it to God.

Dr. *Cartwright.* Then you pray this may be the laſt blood ſpilt upon this account.

Walcot. I do ſo.

Dr. *Cartwright,* Would not you have Traytors brought to their end? You talk of ſpilling Blood, as if it were innocent Blood now ſpilt, when you do confeſs and own the guilt. But I ſhall give you no further diſturbance, but my Prayers to Almighty God for you, that God will give you mercy. And then turning to *Hont.*

Dr. *C.* Mr. *Hont* give glory to God, and unburthen your Conſcience, for you have but a ſhort time to ſtay here.

Hont. I have nothing further to ſay, but that I have been guilty of the Crime. Dr. *C.* You are ſo?

H. Yes, I am guilty of this Crime according to the Law of the Land.

Dr. *C.* I, and according to the Law of God? *H.* Yes.

Dr. *C.* You ſay according to the Law of the Land, a man may be ſworn out of his life by falſe witneſſes, but you were guilty of Conſpiring the Death of the King, and raiſing an Inſurrection?

H. Truly, I muſt ſay as the Captain well minded, I was drawn in, *Thou ſaweſt a thief, and thou conſenteds with him:* So I ſay, that I was drawn in, I ſaw the thief and conſented; I have looked upon my ſelf ſince to be the more guilty of Blood, and my Circumſtance was to be drawn in, and inſnared; for I never was at any of their meetings, none of their Cabals, but in a publick *Coffee-houſe*, or *Tavern*, where they diſcourſed the matter of Fact: and I was to meet the K. and the D. of *York*, but I did not know at that time, when, or where, nor what was my buſineſſe.

Dr. *C.* But you were to aſſiſt? *H.* Yes, I promiſed, that to aſſiſt.

Dr. *C.* Do you beg God and the Kings forgiveneſs for it, from the bottom of your heart, that you have been guilty of this? *For if the blind lead the blind, both ſhall fall into the Ditch*; as well he that leads, as he that is led, although he that leads may fall deeper: There are circumſtances make one mans Crime greater then another; The greatneſſe of theirs do's not leſſen yours.

H. I believed that then I was very near another ſnare: I was reſolved to go down into the Countrey, and not meddle in the things at all, and had been in the Countrey, but meeting with *Keeling*, (I freely forgive him for whatſoever is done,) he called me, and diſcourſing with him, I did ſay I was for killing the K. and ſaving the D. of *York*.

Dr. *C.* Why was you for ſaving the D. of *Y.*

H. I do not know what to ſay as to that: there was no reaſon.

Dr. *C.* What was your own privat reaſon for killing the K. and ſaving the D. of *Y.*

H. As to that I think this, that the D. of *Y.* did openly profeſſe himſelf to be a R. *Catholick*, and I did ſay, I had rather diſpoſe of the K: than the D. of *Y.*

Dr. *C.* Had you rather a *Papiſt* ſhould Reign over us, as you take him to be, than the K.

H. I do not know what you ſay to that.

Dr. *C.* That do's deſerve a reaſon, Mr. *Hone.* You ought to give ſome reaſon; of that, you cannot but have ſome reaſon if you had had a deſign to kill the D. and ſave the K. then it might be to prevent Popery, but you ſay the quite contrary, God in Heaven forgive you for your murderous deſign.

H. I know as little of this as any poor ſilly man in the world; I was fain to gather it, I had it not ſo down right, I was drawn into it, however I am now to die: as for the Witneſſes, I deſire the Lord to forgive them.

Dr. *C.* They have not wronged you, they have done their duty.

Dr. *C. Rouſe.* What ſay you?

Rouſe. As a man and a Chriſtian: in the firſt place, as God hath made me a Chriſtian through his Grace, that the World may underſtand, that I do not dye as Capt. *Walcot* ſayes, an Athieſt; I do here declare in the preſence of God, and this vaſt number of People, what Faith I die in: In that very Faith which was once delivered, and in the Belief of that Doctrine which the Church of *England* makes Profeſſion of, and is agreeable to the word of God, being founded upon the Doctrine of the Prophets, and Apoſtles, whereof Jeſus Chriſt is the Corner Stone. There have been very various opinions concerning me, upon the account of the various imployments that I have been exerciſed in, both here, and beyond Sea: It has been my lot to fall under ſuch circumſtances, and to fall under ſuch Miſ-repreſentations and Cenſures, upon the account of

ſome

ſome publick Imployments, that I have been in for the K. and after I returned from *Flanders*, upon the account of Disbanding, it was almoſt morally impoſſible for ſuch a one in my capacity, to ſtand right in the affections and opinions of all people. When I was imployed in *Flanders*, in the payment of that Army, I was then between 2 Rockes; I will leave it to the Judgement of all ſorts of people, you know the Countrey, I need not particulariſe, nor reflect upon opinions, and the like. But I having been bred up in *England*, and had that Education it Pleaſed God to give me, I was not fond of, nor carried off with that debauchery in thoſe times: and ſometimes, more then once or twice, it was my lot, that I was like to have been murthered for pleading for, and juſtifying the actions of the King of *England*. Since my return, and being Imployed under Sir *Tho. Player*, and ſome others about diſbanding, there it came to my Lot, becauſe I could not humour ſome Gentlemen, who neither feared God, nor honoured the King (I will not ſay ſo of all, for I know ſome were very worthy Gentlemen, that ſcorn'd any of thoſe actions, which ſome would attempt. There Is one worthy Gen. I can ſpeak very honourably of) that ſo they might have their pockets full of money, did not value how the Accounts were ſtated, and at the very ſame time I was under many temptations of handfuls of Guineas in my hand to do ſo and ſo, to cheat the K. and becauſe I would not do that, I was looked upon as a Jeſuit. I did wave all theſe things under thoſe circumſtances. It hath been my lot likewiſe, being imployed by Sir *T. P.* and the reſt of the Commiſſioners to fall into thoſe Companies, and places where my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and others have been, and have had ſome kind of Diſcourſe, which was not Treaſon, but rather a thing that I ever abhorred, and declared a deteſtation of it; ſince theſe hurly burlys, concerning Parliaments going off, and coming on, did diſcontent the people upon one account or another, I confeſſe, I have been a hearer, and have underſtood too much of ſome kind of meetings, which I pray God forgive them for, and eſpecially thoſe that call themſelves Proteſtants, being 10000 times worſe than any others. That there have been ſuch kind of Deſigns, and Meetings, and Clubs, I have not been ignorant of; God forgive me, that I have not been as careful, and as diligent, and as ready, and forward to diſcover it a great while ſince. That I ever had a hand in it, or the leaſt thought of reſolution, or intention to appear in it, but rather, on the contrary, have declared my opinion againſt it, both in the ſight of God, and man, as a breach of the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Land, and contrary to our Duty, who are bound to pray for the King, and all that are in Authority. I do declare in the preſence of God. I am a perfect ſtranger, and I thank God, my Conſcience is clear, I have acquainted His Majeſty in Council, and have had the Honour to be admitted into His Majeſties preſence, in private almoſt half an hour on *Saturnday* was ſeven night, where I was as clear and above board, and as faithful to His Majeſty, as I could be in an humble manner, according to my duty; where I offered to have ſome time, and place allotted, that I might give him a whole Scheme of the buſineſſe: For there were a great many Gentlemen that had a reſpect for me; It was their opinions, that I had a general Knowledge of all the Clubbs, and all the Deſigns that ever were ſince the King came in, but they were under a miſtake. I gave His Majeſty an account to the beſt of my knowledge, and when I had done, His Majeſty ſeemed to be pleaſed, and to thank me for it; but before I had power to put it in writing, and wait upon His Majeſty, the Providence of God did ſo order it, the Council thought it fit that I ſhould be committed to Priſon, where I was ſome dayes; I have had more kindneſſe among *Heathens* and *Indians*, I pray God to forgive them for it, I had not liberty to ſend to my Wife big with Child, in two dayes where I was:

Sir, I ſhall not hold you in ſuſpence, and multiply words, but what is moſt proper to this occaſion. What I have given to His Majeſty in Council, and what I have ſpoken to His Majeſty, in privat, is nothing but the naked Truth to clear my own Conſcience, that I may not go out of the world with any thing upon me: I wiſh thoſe that call themſelves Proteſtants would diſcharge their duty better to God and the King, than either I, or the beſt Subject ever did: I have lookt upon't as an obligation ever ſince I knew what it was to be a man, to carry my ſelf obedient to thoſe that God has ſet over me, eſpecially the King, and thoſe that are in Authority; and I have made it my practice to pray for the King, as for my own Soul. That it has been my lot to be acquainted with thoſe vanities of Clubs, and Perſons, no rational man will wonder, conſidering the Circumſtances and places I was called to. There is one particular Gentleman, Mr. *Sheriff*, I muſt deſire the favour to clear my ſelf by ſomething that I took occaſion to ſpeak of yeſterday. I did acquaint you, Mr. *Sheriff*, with what I had ſpoken to the King, how I was interrupted in the further diſcovery of what I had a mind to ſay. What was further ſaid yeſterday, it was nothing but the naked Truth: In the firſt place, as to what was afterwards diſcourſt of, as to ſome particular perſons, namely, and particularly, Sir *Thomas Player*, I muſt do Juſtice to all the World. That he hath been acquainted with the Lord *Shaftsbury*, none, here, will wonder; but that he hath been very ſhy of his Company ſince he came out of the *Tower*: For he told me many times, he never was in his company but once, for he did not like ſome things, and ſaw ſome deſigns that he was afraid were going on; and thereupon, Sir *Thomas Player* was ſo ingenuous and honeſt to the King, as to break off. I always look'd upon him as a very Loyal Subject, and I muſt declare in the preſence of God, and all the people, I never heard him ſpeak one diſhonourable word of the King; what he may have had with others, is beſt known to himſelf. I have been in ſeveral Clubbs eating and drinking, where it has been diſcourſt to accomodat the Kings Son, the *D.M.* That there was a deſign to ſet up the *D.* of *M.* I will not ſay, while the King raigns, though ſome extravagant, hot-headed men have taken upon them to diſcourſe theſe things, but not any worthy man: I know thoſe that were worthy to be called by that name, have declared in my hearing, that in oppoſition to the D. of *Y.* if the King be ſeiſed, they would ſtand by the D. of *M.* There are others, (I will not give nick-names to any, you are wiſe men, and know what I mean by ſpeaking in the general) that were for a Common-wealth, and ſome there were, two or three perſons. I ſhall be as plain as I can, and I hope you will bear with me ſince it came to my lot, to come to the knowledge of it. Some were for the D. of *M.* ſome for a Common-wealth, and ſome, but very few, not worth naming, were for the D. of *Bucks*: But that I think fell at the laſt between theſe two, being the greater part, as far as I did apprehend by diſcourſing here and there in the City, which I did very frequently do. But the way of theſe Gentlemens diſcourſing theſe things was only one at a time, eſpecially a very induſtrious Gentleman that hath made it his practice a long time, (for it hath been my lot to be acquainted but two months, and that too long,) which is the Witneſs that comes againſt me, and I pray God to forgive him, and I blame him not for diſcovering me, but for the words he ſpake himſelf, by way of inſtigating me to enter into a deſign againſt the King; they were his own words, and not mine. I blame him not for diſcovering anything whereby the King may be ſerved. He did tell me ſeveral times, there were Clubbs in *London*, but I could never get out of him the places where the Clubbs were. Yet I endeavoured what poſſibly I could to come to the bottom of that deſign; for my intent was to make a faithful and true diſcovery, that I might not

go

go to *Whitehall*, or a Juſtice of Peace with an idle ſtory, or a ſham: but at laſt I got out of him, that *Rich. Goodenough* was chiefly inſtrumental. This was a very few days before notice was given, this certain perſon, *Thomas Lee* the *Dyer*, that he was ſworn againſt by one *How*: I aſked him the meaning. He told me, that that *How* was a very Raſcal. I aſked *Lee*, Sir, what courſe ſhall be taken? for what by the *Doctors-Commons* of the one hand, and what by the perſecutions of the other, we muſt think of a way how to relieve it. There is ſome deſign in hand, ſayes *Lee*, don't you know? no, ſaid I, I would be glad to hear. There is an invaſion, ſaid he, going on, a deſign againſt the King, and the Government, but that was only a fallacy; but he diſcovered afterwards to me, that there was a reſolution, and a certain number of people about the City, and the Nation, to make an attack upon the *Tower* of *London*, upon the City of *London*, upon *Whitehal*, and upon St. *James*'s: I ſaid what do you deſign then? have a care that you don't ſhed more innocent blood, for the Land is ſtained with blood too much already. No, ſaith he, the reſolution as Mr. *Goodenough* ſaith, is not to ſpill a drop of blood, but only to ſecure the Kings perſon, that the Papiſts do not kill him, and then, ſaith he, we will deal with the D. of *Y.* as we pleaſe. They were his own words to the beſt of my remembrance. Afterwards this Gentleman was ſworn againſt by one Mr. *Keeling* in *Eaſt-Smithfield*, ſaith he, he's a Rogue and a Dog, and I have ſeen him but once theſe nine Months, and I had no diſcourſe, but only drunk a glaſſe of drink; which proves ſince to the contrary. Being then in Company at the *Kings head Tavern*, in *Swithens-Ally* near to the *Exchange*, news was brought, he was ſworn againſt, he did not know what to do, but found out a place near *London-wall*, and deſired me to go to one or two about the matter, he knew not how to obſcure himſelf, his houſe was beſet, Meſſengers after him, and likewiſe a kind of Judgement or Execution; how to put both ends together he knew not. I told him, if he would, I had a bed, he might go to my houſe, I never heard a word from *Rich. Goodenough* one way nor another of any deſign againſt the K. and the Government, whom I have known this ſeven years; only this *Lee* told me, his hand was as deep as any other. Its true, this Gentleman comes and ſwears againſt me, that I ſhould be the only perſon to ingage in taking the *Tower* of *London*. Sir *John*——— you know very well in what capacity I have been, and how very uncapable I was in my perſon to take the *Tower* of *London*. I ſpeak in the preſence of God, before whom I am to appear in a few minutes, I never had any ſuch thought, never had any ſuch deſire, never conſulted with any perſons of Quality, never diſcourſed of any Armes in order to it, but only this I was ſaying. This fellow being ſet on (and I think a more proper perſon than any man in the world) for that he was a little low in the world, he was under a temptation of being thrown out by an *Anabaptiſtical Church*, for ſome kind of failings, he was under a temptation to make himſelf ſomebody, therefore he did cloſe with Mr. *Goodenough*, and ſome others; and when the firſt Proclamation came forth, he himſelf told me, I never knew it before that *Rumſey*, Captain *Walcot*, *Nelthrop* and *Goodenough* and *weſt* were concerned in this deſign, he was the man told me: and when the ſecond Proclamation came out, then he could tell me of thoſe too; I told him, he was a wretch he had not diſcovered it betimes; as to his ſwearing againſt me, for which God forgive him, that I had a hand in taking the *Tower* of *London*, the thing is this, He knew I was intimatly acquainted with a certain Captain, one *Blage*, who was my ſervant 21. years ago in *Virginia*; he hath been a very faithful and honeſt ſervant, I believe, to His Majeſty for theſe 15 years, particularly five years, in three of His Majeſties Men of War. I know very well the man is of ſuch a principle, that he abhors to ingage in any wicked deſign. But only *Lee* diſcourſing at random about taking the *Tower*, Captain *Blage* gave this anſwer, (for he is a very jocular man.) If I were of a mind to take it, were it for the ſervice of the King, if there were an enemy coming in, ſaith he, I would with ſix Ships well manned and armed with Guns undertake to take the *Tower*: upon what account he ſaid it, I don't know, but I believe in my Conſcience, he had no more deſign to put ſuch a thing in practice, then I have to cut my own throat at preſent; Captain *Blage* had heard theſe diſcourſes *pro* and *con*. ſaith he 2. or 300, men would do it, it's weak in ſuch a place, I wonder His Majeſty does not make it ſtronger. Now when he came to ſwear, as ſoon as he was taken up, he took occaſion to ſwear againſt me, all the diſcourſe he uſed in preſſing me to undertake this deſign.

Mr. *Sheriff Rich.* Pray, if you have any thing that was not told in Court, diſcover it, but you need not give over that which was in Court.

Rouſe. Mr. Sheriff, I have nothing at all to ſay, either to blame the Judges, or the Jury, or the Witneſſes themſelves, the greateſt of all. I thank God I was not any way to have had any hand in it: but the very words themſelves that came out of his mouth he makes me the Author of, but I freely forgive him, as I deſire God would forgive me: tho he did tell me poſitively there were five hundred Arms to be brought out of the Countrey. I heard of ſuch a thing, I confeſs, here and there, but could never know the Authors of it, nor the Clubs where it was diſcourſed: It was lately that he told me, *Goodenough* told him, That the King was to be taken off as he came from *Windſor*, That there was ſeveral things to be done in order to it, That they wanted a place of meeting, and ſome thought of *Salisbury Plain*, and ſome of *Black-Heath*, but the moſt convenient place pitched upon was *Black-Heath*. They were diſcourſing how to gather the people together; Some were for communicating it privately, others for a Ball. They aſked my Thoughts: ſaid I, the beſt way will be, if you throw up a Silver Ball, to get the People together: for my deſign was to get what I could out of them. Thereupon he went to Mr. *Goodenough*, and diſcours'd him, and told him, that my Opinion was, to throw up a Silver Ball and declare, All thoſe that will come and drink a Bowl of Punch, ſhall be welcome, and that by this means they would have gathered thirty or forty thouſand men in two or three days time, which otherwiſe would have been a fortnight a doing: but for himſelf, I will not blame him, nor lay any thing to his charge of which he is not guilty. I muſt needs give him his due. I do not remember that ever he inſiſted upon ſhedding of Blood, but that he hath diſcourſed in very opprobrious terms and baſe Language of the Duke of *York*: by calling him Rogue, and Dog, and ſuch things: and that *we will do his work*: That is true. And that after the King's deceaſe, the Duke of *Monmouth*, having a Voge with the People, muſt of neceſſity ſucceed: I cannot tell what I can ſay more as to that; that is the chief thing I have to ſay, if I have not forgot any thing.

Mr. *Sheriff Rich.* Mr. *Rouſe*, you would do well to name thoſe Perſons that were with you in that Conſultation.

Rouſe. There was no Conſultation at all, Sir. That I had was from this *Thomas Lee*'s mouth himſelf, That there were five hundred Arms to be brought in; That he had it from *Richard Goodenough*, and *Nelthorp*, and Mr. *weſt*, and that Mr. *weſt* particularly knew from whom theſe Arms were come, for he gave me a hint that part of the Arms were bought by Mr. *weſt*.

Mr. *Sheriff Rich.* Who propoſed the way of the Ball?

Rouſe. Sir, he was ſaying, there was ſeveral Propoſitions made in the Club where *Goodenough* was, & ſome thought of one way and ſome another, but they could not find out a proper way; Saith he, what do you think? Said I, if the People meet togethet they may throw up a Ball, juſt in that careleſs way, I ſaid ſo. So he came to me afterwards, and ſaid, that he had diſcourſed with Mr. *Goodenough*, & Mr. *Goodenough* told him, that there was forty thou-

ſand

ſand pound in Bank, and if ſuch a Ball coſt thirty or fo[illegible]y pound it mattered not, to carry on ſuch a Deſign as that was.

Here Captain *Walcot* ſpake.

Captain Walcot. Sir, I deſire you to take notice of this, among other things, that ſo far as I ever heard of this buſineſs, it is of no longer a date than *Auguſt* or *September* laſt: I would not have this Conſequence of it, ſo as to ſtifle the Popiſh Plot.

Mr. *Sheriff.* Do you know any thing of the Popiſh Plot that hath not yet been diſcovered?

Capt. Walcot. No, Sir.

Hone. I had but the knowledge in *March* laſt of this buſineſs.

Capt. Wal. I do not know nor ever heard, that it was older than *Auguſt* or *September* laſt.

Mr. *Sheriff.* Ordinary, do your Office.

Ordinary to *Walcot.* Have you fully diſcharged your Conſcience?

Capt. Walcot. I have.

But it being ſaid that *Rouſe* was interrupted.

Mr. Sheriff North. If you have any thing to ſay, Mr. *Rouſe*, go on, but do not make Repetitions.

Who pulled his Paper out of his Pocket and looked on it.

Rouſe. He declared further, Mr. Sheriff, That when once the thing that came ſo far that the Tower and City was taken, and ſo many Men gathered together, they would quickly increaſe: and the method was, to go to *Whitehal* with Swords in their hands, and to demand Priviledges and Liberties, not to take away the Kings Life, but only let the D. of *Y.* look to it: for he was reſolved upon it that he ſhould not ſucceed the King. Then he delivers another Paper, being his Petition to the King, and ſome more Notes in Short-hand.

Ordinary. Have you fully ſatisfied your Conſcience.

Rouſe. I have Sir a Word or two to ſpeak to the People. I have diſcharged my Conſcience as to any thing as to what I was acquainted with. It had been happy for me if I had not heard of it; but that I had a hand in it I thank God I am free.

Dr. *C.* You hand a hand in the concealing.

Rouſe. That I had.

Dr. *C.* And in maintaining the Correſpondency without diſcovering it; and you do diminiſh your Crime.

Rouſe. No Sir, I don't deſire it. Mr. Sheriff, I do freely acknowledge and confeſs that it is juſt in God in the firſt place, and Righteous and Juſt in the King, that I die; and that I die juſtly for concealing it. I would lay no blame upon the King, nor any other Perſon in the World. I did not conceal it upon any account to his Majeſties prejudice, nor any Man in the Nation; and I hope God will give more Grace to thoſe perſons that do ſucceed. I beg a Word or two I had almoſt forgot, as a man, and as a Chriſtian, That it is a thing of ſuch evil Conſequence, I have found it by bitter Experience now, for ſuch and ſuch publick places to be viſited, eſpecially by thoſe that are profeſſors of the Proteſtant Religion, and particularly Coffee-Houſes, where it is very well known, too much time is ſpent, and Families, and Wives, and Children, ſuffer too much: I pray God the people may take notice of it, and lay it to Heart, that ſpend their time ſo, thinking it is but a Penny and a Penny; and ſo Diſcourſe of State-affairs, as if ſo be they were Gods Counſellors in the Government of the World, running from the Coffee-houſe to the Tavern and from the Tavern to the Coffee-houſe, which hath been the Debauchery of this Age; and ſo bring them into this *Dilemma* to Diſcourſe of thoſe Things neither pleaſing to God nor the King, nor themſelves, but their prejudice. The profanation of the Sabbath-Day is commonly *Diſcourſt* of in this place; God forgive me for not obſerving it as I ſhould. I pray God thoſe that follow me may be more careful of their Duty to God and Man, for the good of themſelves, their Souls, and their Families; thoſe that are young eſpecially and coming up; that they may chiefly mind their concerns for Eternity, and that they would pay their Duty and Homage to the King and thoſe that God has ſet over them, and not neglect that great Command to pray for the King and all that are in Authority.

Being asked if they had any thing more to ſay, They ſaid, No, Mr. *Ordinary* then prayed with them, and ſung a Pſalm; and then they deſired to pray themſelves; which was granted.

Captain

Captain *Walcot*'s Prayer.

O Lord, our God, Thou art the God of preſent help in time of Trouble, a God, that haſt promiſed to be with thy people in the Fire and in the Water. O Lord, we pray thee, that thou wilt afford thy preſence to thy poor ſuffering Servants at this time, that thou wilt enable us to pray with Faith, to truſt in Thee, to be in expectation and hope of Mercy from Thee. O Lord, thy Servant that ſpeaketh doth confeſs, that the Iniquities at his heels have juſtly overtaken him, that juſt and righteous art thou in all thy Judgements, that he hath reaſon to bear thy Indignation, becauſe he hath ſinned. O Lord, we beg, even for thy Son Chriſt Jeſus's ſake, that our ſins may not be brought to our remembrance, in order to our deſpondency or diſcouragement, or our deſpairing in thy Mercy, but rather, O Lord, in order to an aſſurance, that our great God hath pardoned and forgiven them in the blood of his Son. O do thou bath each of our Souls in that Fountain ſet open for Sin and for Uncleanneſs. Give us, O Lord, inward Spiritual ſtrength from thy ſelf, and give us cauſe to bleſs thy Name for inward ſupporting Graces, for inward aſſiſtances. O let us find an increaſe of ſpiritual ſtrength, let us be aſſured that our Sins are done away, and let us alſo be aſſured that our Names are written in the Book of Life, and let it be ſuch an aſſurance, as may be matter of joy and rejoycing to our Souls. O do thou enable every one of us, from the inward evidence of thy Spirit, to ſay with thy Servant *Job*, That we know and are aſſured that our Redeemer lives. O do thou give us ſuch an aſſurance of an Intereſt in Thee, that we may be enabled in deed, in reality, and in truth, to ſay, that we have run our race, and we have finiſhed our Courſe with joy: O let us now receive the Fruit of thoſe many Petitions that we have put up unto Thee. O let us now find the Spirit influencing our hearts to a yielding patience, and a thorow ſubjection to the Will of God: let us find thy Spirit aſſuring us that we are thine. O let us have ſtronger Evidences of thy Love, ſtronger Teſtimonies of thy Affection: O give us ſome inward Taſtes of thoſe heavenly Joyes that we hope through the Mercy of Jeſus Chriſt in a little time to have a more full Fruition of. O Lord, do thou ſpeak peace to every one of our Conſciences; enable us to take hold of thy ſtrength, that thou mayeſt make peace with us, and let us not be diſcouraged, O Lord, ſince we have a High-prieſt that can be touched with our infirmities: let us with boldneſs have acceſs to the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy and Grace to help in time of need. O take away the Sting and Terror that is in Death in any one of us, by aſſuring us of our Intereſt in Thee, by aſſuring us that our Names are Recorded in the Book of Life; tho we ly under a Sentence of Death from Men, we beg that we may have a Sentence of Life Eternal from our God; and tho we meet Thee, O Lord, in a Field of Blood, we beg that thou wilt come to meet with us in a Field of Mercy. O Lord, extend thy Mercy, thou Lord whoſe Compaſſions faileth not, cauſe the Bowels of thy tender pity to yern with Compaſſion towards us: enable every one of us, O Lord, to die believing in Jeſus Chriſt, to die, hoping in his Mercy, to die, Relying upon him for Juſtification, for Sanctification, and for Adoption. O Lord, though we have been Prodigals, we deſire to return to our Fathers Houſe where there is Bread enough. O enable us to come unto Thee as Children to their Parents. O let our Prayers be offer'd with ſo much Fervour in Chriſt Jeſus, that Thou may'ſt think it reaſonable to aſſure us of thy Love. O let the Interceſſion of Jeſus Chriſt be accepted. O Lord, we beg that he may be our Advocate; if our Advocate be our Judge, certainly we cannot miſcarry. O let Jeſus Chriſt be the hope of every one of our Souls; and Lord let not our Hope be like that of the Hipocrite, but let our Faith be built upon the Rock of Ages, and let us not fall from the apprehenſion of Affliction and Puniſhment from men. Yet, O Lord, do Thou ſo order our Hearts & our Spirits aright, that Thou mayeſt be the Lot of our Inheritance, and our Portion for ever. O do Thou intereſt us in thy Self; Lord carry on thy own Work. We deſire to come unto Thee that we may have life. Lord help us, Lord put to thy helping Hand, Lord teach us truly to leave no ſin unrepented of, in any one of our Hearts: And O Lord, we beg that with us thou wilt give us leave to Recommend unto thy Care our poor Wives and Children: Thou haſt promiſed to be the Father of the Fatherleſs, and the Husband of the Widow; and Thou haſt commanded us to caſt the Care of them upon Thee, O do Thou make Proviſion for them, deal kindly with them, imprint Thy own Image upon them, and enable them to bear this ſevere ſtroke with patience. O Lord, ſtand by and ſupport them; let their wayes be found ſo pleaſing and acceptable unto Thee, that Thou may'ſt think it reaſonable to make all their enemies at peace. Lord, intereſt them in Thy Love, and do Thou favour them with Thy Mercies and loving Kindneſſes. O Lord, we alſo beſeech Thee in the behalf of theſe poor Kingdoms wherein we are, that Thou wilt be merciful to them, prevent Deviſions among them, heal all their Breaches, compoſe their Differences, make all that are thine of one Heart and Mind in the things of Thee our God. And Lord, if it be Thy Will, do Thou Rule in the Heart of the King, that He may Rule and Reign for Thee, and for the good of Thy Church and People. Lord, favour us with Thy Mercy, aſſure us of Thy Love, ſtand by us in the difficult hour, take us into Thine own Care, cauſe Thy Angels to attend us, to convey our Souls as ſoon as they are divided from our Bodies, into *Abraham's* Boſom, into the Paradice of our God. And Lord, we beg that Thou wilt be with us, with Thy extraordinary Preſence, helping us to Truſt in Thee, doing for us beyond what our narrow Hearts are able to ask or think. All which we beg for the ſake of Thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, in whom, O Lord, this little Time do Thou give us Hearts to give Thee all Glory, Honour, and Praiſe, now and for evermore. Amen. Sweet Jeſus, Amen.

Hones,

Pam
coll.
Folio

Hone's Prayer.

GLorious Lord our God, thou art the God of the whole Creation, and the God that created the Heavens and Earth in six days; by thy power we stand here before thee: Lord, help us to be looking up unto Jesus Christ, who is exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour to give Repentance to *Israel*, and Remission of sins. Now, Lord, for thy mercies sake we would be helped to say, That Power that raised up Christ from the dead, that is able to raise up our poor Souls before thee from Death to Life. O Lord, for thy mercies sake wash all our Souls in the Blood of Jesus Christ, *which speaketh better things than that of* Abel: and, Lord, for thy mercies sake pardon all our sins, from our first, our Original sins, and our sins of Sabbath breaking, and our sins of Transgression, and the sin for which we are condemn'd; O Lord, pardon it, and let us not go out of the World with one sin hid in our Souls. For thy mercies sake pardon all our sins; and, Lord, do thou preserve this Nation, and put it into the heart of the King to be merciful, and to rule in Truth and Righteousness. And for thy mercies sake, rule the Affairs of this Nation, and help to rule and govern all things for the government of our Souls and our Spirits, for thy mercies sake; and help us that with joy we may be received into Glory, into the eternal Habitations: for Christ is sent into the World to that purpose, to save sinners, of whom we are chief. And, Lord, for thy mercies sake, let me have a true belief in Jesus Christ aright, to be looking up unto him for Life and for Salvation. Oh that we might perish if we perish, and be found doing thy will to the utmost of our power. Lord, accept of us, and help us and be with us this little time we shall be in this world. All which we beg for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory with the Kingdom both now and for evermore.

Mr. Rous's Prayer,

O Lord our God, who art nearer to each and every one of us, than we are to our selves: It is not all the Confessions to men in the world, were it confessed by the Tongues of Angels, those glorious Spirits above, that can avail any thing with the great God, against whom we have sinned, or that can procure pardon for the least transgression which deserves eternal wrath. And therefore for the Sins that we have been guilty of, either against the first of the second Table, either against God as our Creator, Christ as our Redeemer, or the Holy and Blessed Spirit as our Sanctifier, the sins that we have committed against thy holy Church, and that Faith that I hope we die in the belief of, the sins that we have been guilty of against our Neighbours, upon one account and another, the sins that we have been guilty of against our Governours and Rulers, to whom thou hast obliged us under manifold obligations, both as Men and Christians, the sins that we have been guilty of in our several places, Relations and Capacities whatsoever, whatever have been their Circumstances and their Aggravations, the least whereof deserves everlasting death, without the Merits of Jesus; for all those greater or lesser sins, whether that original sin we brought into the world with us, that source and fountain, and foundation of all other sins, those actual sins and transgressions against any of those that thou hast set over us, or those that have been equal with us; those relation sins, as Husband and Wife, as Master and Servant, in every relation and capacity; Lord forgive them, and wash them away in the blood of the Lamb of God, that stands at the right hand of the Majesty on high. And because we have no worthiness of our own to recommend us to thee, therefore we beg thee for thy Sons sake to fetch arguments from thy self. Our righteousness is as filthy rags, and the best of us are as a menstruous cloath. Fetch Arguments from the riches of thy grace, from the goodness of thy nature, from the multitude of thy mercies, from the blood of thy Son, from that blessed, eternal intercession that we hope he is making for us, and for all that belong to the election of Grace, and shall be brought to glory. Remember thy Churches, hasten the fulfilling of thy promises, the accomplishing of thy prophesies through the world, the downfal of the man of sin, and the destruction of all thy true Churches implacable enemies. Lord hasten the day of the calling the Jews, and the fulness of the Gentiles; put an end to Wars and rumours of Wars, let the desire of all Nations come. Dwell in these Three Nations, be a wall of fire round about them; prevent any kind of Insurrection at home, all manner of Invasion from abroad; let those that tarry behind, enjoy peace, and truth, and righteousness. Dwell in and reign in the heart of the King, Lord bless and prosper him in his Person, give him a long, a prosperous, and happy reign. Good Father we pray thee, let him live here with a flourishing Crown upon his head, till thou in thy due time shalt receive him to an eternal Crown hereafter. Bless him in his Royal Family and Relations, in his Royal Brother. Bless him in his Royal Consort, make the King a Nursing Father, and the Queen a Nursing Mother: Confound all hatred, malice and envy, all evil-speaking, every thing that is contrary to sound Doctrine, and give thy people that live under him, to shew that dutifulness and respect as becomes Christians, and as becomes Loyal Subjects. Bless the Clergy, by whatsoever Names or Titles distinguished, make them sound in their Doctrine, and make them useful and unblameable in their Lives and Conversations. Help them to mind the Souls committed to their charge, and help them to do their duty, that they may be able to say, behold here are we and the Children whom thou hast given us. Now Lord bless all the Nation from the highest to the lowest, from the Prince to the Peasant, of all sorts, ranks and degrees. Give Loyalty towards our dread Sovereign, who is a merciful and gracious Prince, whom thou hast set as thy Vicegerent to Reign over us, who can do nothing but what is just and equal before thee, to whom he must give an account of all his Transactions, even to thee the King of Kings. And Lord grant peace and love and unity one among another, and the practical observation of thy holy day, and those duties that relate to God and Man. Grant that those that follow after us, may take particular Example by us. We must needs acknowledge and smite upon our thighs, that we in Justice are brought hither, that we have nothing to do, but to condemn our selves, and justifie the Justice of the Land, and to pray God to bless his Majesty to Reign in these Nations, and those that shall succeed him upon the Throne. All which we beg upon the account of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was dead, and behold he lives, to whom with thy self and eternal Spirit, we desire to ascribe, as is due, all honour, praise and glory everlasting. *Amen.*

There was these Lines more in the Paper delivered by Captain Walcot, *than what you have before seen.*

AS to *Ireland*, I am very inclinable to believe, could I have charged any body there, with being ingaged in the matter for which I suffer, I might have had my Life; but by the blessing of God, I will charge no man wrongfully, no, not to save my Life; and these being some of the last words I am to speak, I do aver, I know not an English-man, or Protestant in *Ireland* any way ingaged in it. Besides, I was told, they that were most concerned, and did not value *Ireland*, and said it must of course follow *England*. Something I heard of one Gentleman in the North, and whether it be true or false I will not determine.

FINIS.

EDINBURGH, Re-printed by the Heir of *Andrew Anderson*, Printer to his most Sacred Majesty, 1683.